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New World Trading Order Undercut by Regional Accords and Ecoprotectionism

The Political Economy of Agricultural Trade and Policy: Toward a New Order for Europe and North America. Edited by Hans J Michelmann, Jack C Stabler, and Gary G Storey Boulder, CO Westview Press, 1990, 242 pages, \$28,50

Reviewed by Mark V. Simone

The Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations have shown that the inextricable link between economics and politics can be a considerable obstacle for agricultural trade reform The Political Economy of Agricultural Trade and Policy Toward a New Order for Europe and North America is an outgrowth of a conference held in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, in March 1990 that addressed the ramifications of trade reform

This collection of papers is accessible and readable Readers with a cursory understanding of farm policies in Europe and North American will readily understand the authors' presentations. However, analysts of agricultural policy for the Uruguay Round will probably already know much of what is presented here.

The first section of the book covers the development of European Community (EC), Canadian, and the US agricultural policies Each chapter concludes with the motivation for reform (mainly budgetary) of agricultural policies in light of the Uruguay Round The chapters ease the reader into the often complex agricultural policy milieu of developed countries

Tracy's chapter provides a good overview of the EC's evolution and the need for Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) reform without dwelling on complicated CAP aspects such as monetary compensatory amounts and green rates. Tracy notes that the CAP "was not created in a vacuum but was an amalgam of existing national measures." He illustrates this point through examples of the struggle among the six founding members of the EC in forming the CAP

Skogstad's chapter summarizes the agricultural policy process in Canada revealing the differing policy orientations of the various commodity sec-

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tors, from the supply-managed dairy and poultry sectors to the market-oriented hog and cattle industry. The obvious tensions in policy formation within Canada explain the evolution of Canada's current GATT position away from the United States. A discussion of the ramifications of Quebec's threatened secession over the failure of proposed constitutional reforms would have been insightful. Because Quebec has a significant portion of the dairy sector, with a strong political base, some changes in Federal policy orientation could be anticipated with Quebec's secession.

Rausser's chapter on the United States is the most ambitious and rigorous of the three. It utilizes his concept of predatory (PEST's) and productive (PERT's) agricultural policies, presenting several examples of both types in US agriculture. US agricultural polices, Rausser contends, are neither formed solely by the US Government seeking welfare corrections of market failure nor by powerful, rent-seeking interest groups. Rather, policies result from tradeoffs between public and private interests.

The book's second section deals with the structural change of agriculture in the EC, Canada, and the United States, the growing pressures for reform of their agricultural policies, and the impact of GATT on this reform The chapters complement each other well Brinkman's chapter on structural changes is straightforward, containing tables ample with farm indicators in the EC, Canada, and the United States The plethora of data shows that farming is on a much smaller scale in the EC relative to Canada and the United States EC farmers are more dependent on agriculture for a livelihood than are Canadian and US farmers, whose off-farm income continues to grow in importance

Veeman and Veeman utilize the "tried and true" producer and consumer subsidy equivalents to depict increasing Federal support for agriculture during the 1980's and the budgetary exposure that prompted policy reform. They argue that the trends presented in Brinkman's chapter (increasing farm sizes, declining farm numbers, greater off-farm income) will continue and result in a movement toward market-oriented policies, accompanied by decoupled support to farmers truly in need. Such policies would be in contrast to current U.S. programs for grains and cotton, where the largest farms often accrue most of the benefits

Josling chronicles the Uruguay Round for agriculture from its start in September 1986 up to the comprehensive final proposals in the fall of 1989 Josling portrays the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's publication of producer subsidy equivalents as a turning point in trade negotiations since "details of national policies were openly discussed for the first time in a quantitative framework" Not all agricultural economists will want to relive this period, but the chapter provides a detailed reference The book's publication preceded the Round's current impasse over agriculture, but Josling prophetically admits that sweeping change in agricultural policies under the GATT "flies against all experience of recent history and ignores political realities"

The final section utilizes the topical phrase "new world order" to discuss possible change in agricultural policies. Runge portends the growing importance of nontariff barriers (NTB's) to trade in future trade negotiations, especially in the areas of health, safety, and the environment. He characterizes these NTB's as "ecoprotectionism." While I do feel that the Uruguay Round conclusion will ultimately be more modest than what Runge asserts, I have no qualms about his ecoprotectionism claim, particularly after the flap concerning the banning of U-S beef and pork from the EC for health reasons and the continuing controversy over the growth hormone, bovine somatotropin (BSt), in several countries

Fulton and Storey address the possibility of a new world order for agricultural policy by looking at the evolution of agricultural policy from 1800 to the present in the United States, France, Germany, and Great Britain Their approach is useful since it ties several important world events to policy changes, which often were a reaction to occurrences such as the Irish Potato Famine and Great Depression. In terms of the U.S. and EC wheat markets, the authors argue that a move to free trade would benefit the United States and reduce the EC agricultural budget but be politically untenable to the EC. As an alternative, they

suggest production controls in both regions, which would be less damaging to EC producers than would free trade However, the collapse of various International Wheat Agreements during the 20th century makes me skeptical about market sharing for agricultural trade

Since the publication of this book occurred before the December 1990 collapse of the GATT negotiations, several authors' optimism for a significant agreement on agriculture may have been premature. The conclusion of negotiations for a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the EC's 1992 economic integration program have possibly tarnished multilateral trading structures in favor of regional trading arrangements. However, politics and economics are often at loggerheads in these trade discussions. I would enjoy reading another compendium focusing on regional trade by these same authors.

The book features The Political Economy of Agriculture-"The Political Economy of Agriculture in the European Community" by Michael Tracy, "The Political Economy of Agriculture in Canada" by Grace Skogstad, "The Political Economy of Agriculture in the United States" by Gordon C Rausser The International Agricultural and Trading Environment—"Structural Change in Canadian, United States, and European Agriculture" by George L Brinkman, "The Crisis in European and North American Agriculture" by Michele M Veeman and Terrence S Veeman, "The GATT Its Historical Role and Importance to Agricultural Policy and Trade" by Tim Josling Prospects for a New World Agricultural Order—"Prospects for the Uruguay Round in Agriculture" by C Ford Runge, "A New World Agricultural Order?" by Murray Fulton and Gary G Storey Conclusion—"Concluding Remarks" by Hans J Michelmann and Jack C Stabler

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